

## **The ‚efficient museum‘ in resistance to the ‚dictatorship of the wall‘.**

The discourse of a new museum reform in Western Europe  
after the Second World War

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A fundamental departure from the historicist paradigm of the art museum in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had fundamentally changed the European museum landscape in the four decades before the beginning of the Second World War. The roots of this museum reform movement lay in a debate that had been going on in the German-speaking world since around 1880, about how to adapt the mediation objectives of museums to the new challenges of a larger and socially more heterogeneous public, as was becoming apparent with the high level of industrialisation and mass urbanisation.<sup>1</sup> In the German Empire and in Austria-Hungary, this discourse had already led to widespread changes in museum exhibition practice prior to 1914, which at that time could otherwise only be found in the USA, even though a different framework of discourse provided the prerequisites for museological reforms there.<sup>2</sup> After the end of the First World War, the new museology spread to many other northern European countries and eventually even encompassed the traditionally conservative French museum scene.<sup>3</sup> However, large parts of Mediterranean Europe, such as the differentiated museum landscape of Italy, remained unaffected by this until 1939, if only because the state and municipal financiers of institutions had little scope for investment in its modernisation for economic reasons.

While European museum practice prior to the Second World War was therefore on the whole like a confusing patchwork of unreformed permanent exhibitions dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and redesigned in the sense of several consecutive reform approaches, on the level of theoretical reflection an internationally recognised model was now available to which, from the perspective of the functional elite of museum curators, all museum presentations were to be adapted in the future. This new paradigm of a simulation of the modern artist's studio in the museum exhibition space, whose aesthetically neutral wall and uniform, low-scattering light should focus attention entirely on a rigid selection of works of art and their formal-aesthetic properties, is known today under its later name of the ‚white cube‘.<sup>4</sup> After being canonised by the first international conference on questions of museum staging, organised by the Office international des Musées, a cultural-political sub-organisation of the League of Nations, in Madrid in 1934, this model of advanced museum practice was also familiar to the experts in those countries where one had to wait for an opportunity to modernise one's own museums.<sup>5</sup>

This opportunity was to arise very soon, but under catastrophic conditions that no one in Madrid in 1934 could have expected. The Second World War marked a decisive break in the European museum landscape. Extensive destruction caused by acts of war had either completely destroyed most of the existing museum buildings, or at the very least more or less severely damaged them and decimated their collections, scattered them to various storage locations or turned them into spoils of war. They had to be painstakingly reassembled, if this was still possible at all, and their accommodation required the restoration or construction of suitable exhibition rooms. Despite national and regional differences that were attributable to the course of the war, most museum managers across the continent, from Great Britain to Greece, faced the challenge of reconstructing their institutions, sometimes literally,

from the ground up.<sup>6</sup> In the war-torn areas of the Western Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite states, the challenging economic conditions meant that this process was still incomplete by 1989. But also in Western Europe, the reconstruction phase, supported by the economic upswing of the post-war period, lasted a good twenty years before it led to an expansion of museum activity that continues to this day, characterised by the founding of new museums and the construction of new buildings for museum purposes on a previously unknown scale.

The reconstruction of art museums in Western Europe during the two post-war decades enabled a comprehensive modernisation of the institution, which gave it a conformity unimaginable in the pre-war period. Between 1945 and 1965, more than ten times as many museum presentations were redesigned than in the entire first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> This comprehensive reorientation has so far only partially been the focus of historical museum research.<sup>8</sup> However, a number of cross-national surveys that appeared towards the end of the reconstruction phase, at least give an idea of the specific character of museum practice in the post-war period, even if, by concentrating on the most innovative solutions, they distort the overall picture and do not reflect the normal state of museum activity at the time.<sup>9</sup> In their preference for the more ambitious new designs, which most closely correspond to the current museum reform debate, they document the striking differences from even the most advanced museum practice of the immediate pre-war period.<sup>10</sup> This finding prompts the suspicion that the innovative exhibition practice of the post-war period followed different basic assumptions and objectives than those on which the expert consensus before the Second World War had been based. Indeed, post-war museology did not try simply to catch up on a pre-war agenda which had been only delayed by the hostilities. In contrast, the research contributions on museum history of the post-war period available to date, emphasise the continuity of the museum reform discourse since the first half of the century. From this perspective, it is assumed that the museum reformers of the 1950s must have had the same intentions that had already prevailed in Madrid in 1934.<sup>11</sup> However, the present contribution is based on the opposite assumption, namely that this was a 'second museum reform', a new theoretical approach that makes the different exhibition practice of the period, as compared to the pre-war period, understandable. In order to test this thesis, the following study is based on a systematic survey of statements of museum theory in post-war culture journals in several Western European countries, since this type of publication had already been the setting for the articulation of a programmatic museology before the war.<sup>12</sup>

## **A second museum reform?**

First of all, the museological statements in these journals make it clear that there was not only a quasi-intuitive museum practice in the post-war period, which in its more innovative areas stood out from older reform phases because museum installations, like other designed spaces, were subject to changes in taste. Although museum designers repeatedly made decisions based on their individual taste, they claimed to act on the basis of a museology that had only recently been scientifically researched, and that had identified objective conditions for the perception of art in museums. In fact, such a scientific discipline hardly existed at the time, and the habitus typical of innovative museum curators and architects of the time apparently drew its persuasive power only from their consensus regarding the goals and the means to be applied. What instructions for the presentation of works of art in museums could be derived from these supposedly objective conditions can be illustrated exemplarily by a contribution from the Swiss-based publicist Hans Curjel, in the magazine *Das Werk*, the official publication of the

Swiss Werkbund, in 1953. Under the succinct title *Über einige Museums- und Ausstellungsprobleme* (On Some Museum and Exhibition Problems), Curjel summarised the state of the museological consensus mentioned above, as it had evolved over the last ten years.<sup>13</sup> As an art historian with a doctorate, who had been Deputy Director of the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe from 1925-1927, before he aspired to a career as an avant-garde theatre director in Berlin, a career he was able to continue after emigrating to Switzerland in 1933, Curjel's biography already provided a bridge to the museum reform of the Weimar Republic.<sup>14</sup> All the more striking are the deviations of his current objectives from what one could imagine in the 1920s as museum display practice in Germany. They begin with a fundamental criticism of the appearance of the exhibition rooms as produced by the previous museum reform:



1 Hall of paintings in the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam, first installation from 1935

„The exhibition methods of our time [...] have hardly or only partially addressed the problems posed by the presentation of works of fine art in museums and exhibitions. [...] As a type, the classical structure predominates: representative entrance halls and staircases, in the overall plan architecturally conceived, stable halls or cabinets with more or less well solved lighting solutions, the paintings arranged in a cultivated manner on the walls, whose colour and wall structure is carefully determined, the sculptures on neutral pedestals. Although no longer the paving of the walls, the paintings are still arranged in a row that cannot deny their origin from earlier stacking. The origin of the museum of paintings still echoes that of the ‚gallery‘, which was created on the basis of certain conditions – collecting in itself and representation.“<sup>15</sup>

It is thus the insufficient functionality of the current display practice, interspersed with relics of a tradition not yet overcome, that according to Curjel is the occasion for a radical new approach. The practice he describes corresponds to the ‚modern museum‘, as illustrated in Madrid in 1934 by the example of the newly built Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam. Here, enclosed rooms as neutral ‚containers‘, without historicist fixtures, were intended to provide the flexibility required for regular changes in the display of the exhibits, without the need for conversion measures (fig. 1).<sup>16</sup>

In comparison with this solution, Curjel radicalises the requirement of flexibility for the museum space. The „traditional rectangular space“<sup>17</sup> is contrasted with the ideal alternative of an ample „empty room“<sup>18</sup>, without fixed dividing walls or supports, the ceiling of which, with a large span, can even be differentiated in individual areas in terms of height and lighting. By accentuating different exhibition areas with the help of movable fixtures, this hyperflexible space in the manner of an airplane hangar adapts to the curatorial intention, rather than imposing restrictions and compromises on it:



2 Exhibition room of the Denver Art Museum in Denver/Co. with the installation in 1949

„Installations of the most varied kinds can be placed in such neutral spatial structures, which can unfold freely without danger of collision with existing stable spatial forms: walls of any kind, screens, vertical latticework, fabric subdivisions or geometrically cubic structures as spatial accents. They are the prerequisites for organic subdivisions that can be developed from the material to be presented without being tied to any immovable rectangular definitions. This, in turn, opens-up possibilities for lively accentuations, for spatial balances and rhythmic sequences, in which the material can be placed on the basis of the inner connections within it, whereby the possibility of classical symmetry is by no means excluded.“<sup>19</sup>

The ideal of the simulation of the artist's studio, as embodied by the example in Rotterdam, conceived the lighting of exhibits as a diffuse and uniform natural light, scattered by light refracting glass ceilings or introduced through north-facing windows, which at nightfall should be supplemented and finally replaced by artificial light as close to nature as possible.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, Curjel also required in this respect a light supply which changed from one area to another, differentiating particular sections of the continuous space through the modulation of intensity, which could be individually tailored to individual exhibits if required. He also considered it an option to use focused ‚spotlights‘, even during the day, to highlight individual exhibits.<sup>21</sup> Just as the accentless monotony of light in the previous understanding of the modern exhibition space was intended to make the conscious perception of the room by the visitor disappear, a uniform coating of the walls with a colour considered neutral in perceptual aesthetics, such as white or light grey, reduced the attention paid to the wall, which in the ‚white cube‘ should recede completely into the background, leaving all attention to the exhibits.<sup>22</sup> In his consistent inversion of this intention, Curjel, on the other hand, imagines the changing use of different, expressive colours in the room sections, which could also be differentiated by a variation in the texture of different surface materials for the room dividers.<sup>23</sup> Insofar as the design of the room compartments is apparently based on a curatorial insight into the visual-aesthetic properties of the works of art to be presented in each case, which might sometimes require a symmetrical presentation in front of a certain colour and sometimes a different rhythm in front of another background, the older German aesthetic of perception, from which the ‚white cube‘ had deviated, is revived here. In order to maintain the „principle of isolation“<sup>24</sup> of the individual exhibit under such conditions, Curjel arrives at a fur-



ther radicalisation, which takes its place alongside the concept of the hyperflexibility of the exhibition space. Where previously the concentrated viewing of the individual work of art was to be achieved by limiting the number of exhibits on a wall, which could be achieved by hanging paintings in a single row or by loosely placing sculptures with sufficiently large distances between them, the intention now is to break the link to the wall. In the traditional museum space, the viewer moves from picture to picture, which occasionally leads to meaningful combinations, but in an unchangeable room space always brings with it the danger of an unrelated „mixing“ of impressions.<sup>25</sup> The work of art is only really released from the potential interference of its neighbours when it emerges into free space:

„The predominance of walls that are all too often too schematic is by no means self-evident. Certain older works of painting (altar-pieces) are not made to be pressed into walls. But even the easel painting is created in free space and not bound to the wall. The space behind the painting gives it a kind of breathing space that is denied it on the wall. [...] In view of these different contexts it is understandable that efforts have been made to eliminate the dictatorship of the wall. In practice, this can be done with the help of various methods: by lifting the picture out of the wall in plane-parallel manner, creating an airspace of any size behind the picture; at the same time, this results in an optical dissolution of the wall itself and its transformation into space [...]. However, radical solutions have also been attempted by freely hanging pictures in the space, which can result in an organic marriage of picture and space. Whatever solutions will continue to be developed in the future [...]: the dictatorship of the monotonous arrangement along the walls has been broken.“<sup>26</sup>



3 Exhibition room at the *documenta* in Kassel 1955

The hyperflexible spatial continuum, into which exhibition modules can be inserted with different accents of design based on curatorial decisions, giving the exhibits a space-creating presence, formulates a utopia that fundamentally distances itself from the hitherto valid notion of the modern museum space and cannot be understood as a continuous continuation of the older reform practice. Curjel was aware of the fact that he was presenting a vision of the future which, especially in the light of the experience of his German-speaking readers, did not come close to being realised domestically.<sup>27</sup> He therefore refers to experiments in the USA and Italy for its feasibility. The hyperflexible exhibition space could already be found ‚in nuce‘ in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which opened in 1939, and more recently in the founding building of the Denver Art Museum from 1949 (Fig. 2).<sup>28</sup> Successfully emancipated from the ‚dictatorship of the wall‘, were at least some temporary exhibition designs such as those by Gian Carlo Menichetti for the Picasso exhibition in Milan in 1953, or by Arnold Bode for

the *documenta* in Kassel in 1955.<sup>29</sup> The ‚tertium comparationis‘ of these two displays, which is obviously alluded to here, is the attachment of paintings to vertical steel supports, used in Milan and taken up by Bode as a model, which are moved away from the wall a little and therefore anchored to it for stability by horizontal struts at the upper end (Fig. 3).<sup>30</sup>

### The theory of ‚aesthetic education‘ in the museum

These and other technical exhibition innovations, which a German audience was able to see for the first time at the *documenta*, originated from the internationally discussed avant-garde exhibition practice that had become apparent in the reestablishment of many Italian museums after the war.<sup>31</sup> Not only Curjel's example, but also his theoretical reflections on the museum space had their origins in the Italian discourse that gave this wave of museum modernisation its contours. There, the demand to leave the wall and the pedestal behind for the presentation of works of art, in Curjel's formulation to overcome the ‚dictatorship of the wall‘, had already been voiced for some time, even before the corresponding exhibition experiments by Franco Albini or Carlo Scarpa, which also guided Menichetti's exhibition practice. The fact that Curjel was aware of this discourse, even though he did not want to refer to it explicitly, is finally confirmed by a short passage in his second contribution to *Das Werk* in 1955, in which he describes the fundamental function of the art museum. It reflects the same basic assumptions that were the starting point of the new Italian museology after 1945:

„The artistic is to be made visible and conscious in its extreme intensity; for it has to be created, as it were, a potential to live that depends on light, space, and the environment. At the same time, there should be the possibility that the connection of a work of art with life can become visible, its coming out of the personality of the person who created it, its aesthetic, historical and social ties to time and environment, its interweaving into the fabric of all artistic phenomena. From these various tasks, architectural solutions must be found to create the synthesis of experience and knowledge which, according to current understanding, is the basis for the true effect of the work of art.“<sup>32</sup>

The causal relationship mentioned above, in which the viewer's encounter with the work of art ideally transforms an (affective) experience of its visually perceptible form into a (cognitive) realisation of its historical significance, underlies the theory of ‚aesthetic education‘ by the museum, as the Italian museum theorists Lionello Venturi and Giulio Carlo Argan had conceived it in the previous decade. For Venturi, even in the interwar period one of Italy's best-known academic art historians, the need to create an independent concept of art initially arose out of his involvement with the methodology of the ‚Stilkritik‘ in the manner of Heinrich Wölfflin. In 1929, he turned against the formalism that characterised this newly dominant orientation in art history, in a contribution that sought to make Benedetto Croce's empathic aesthetics useful for the debate on methodology in art history.<sup>33</sup> According to Croce, every work of art conveys the expression of a feeling that can be visually experienced by the viewer through its creative qualities. Its specific aesthetic form is therefore not merely an abstract event of form, but is based on a collective state of mind which the artist, belonging to his era, shared and which he involuntarily helped to express visibly. Even if this era should already be in the distant past, the work of art, if it has preserved its decisive formal integrity, could make this emotional content perceptible to a contemporary viewer if he or she accepts the challenge. Venturi calls the attitude of reception necessary for this emotional response „contemplation“.<sup>34</sup>

It was not until after the Second World War however, that he spoke about the conditions that would have to be met for a museum visitor to be able to do so. In between there was a longer period of emigration to the USA, since Venturi, who was one of the few established academics, had lost his professorship when he refused to take the oath fascism demanded in 1931.<sup>35</sup> As a convinced anti-fascist, he organised support committees for the Italian resistance in exile, taught at various East Coast colleges, and became acquainted with the distinct American museum didactics without adopting their pragmatism. Immediately after his return to Italy in 1945, he began a journalistic campaign that was successfully aimed at gaining influence on the foreseeable reestablishment of Italian art museums. Under the slogan 'The museum – school of the public', he designed the institution as a place for the „education of the eye“, which was intended to compensate for the text-heavy nature of the traditional educational canon, to spread the ability for aesthetic contemplation in a way that was suitable for the masses, and to turn museum visitors into aesthetically demanding consumers.<sup>36</sup> Initially conceived as part of an educational policy reform aimed at building a post-fascist democratic society, the educational programme was aimed first at secondary school students, and later more generally at a broader audience beyond the traditional educated middle classes, for whose needs alone the museum would not need to change.<sup>37</sup> For this educational reform, it was necessary to target the art museum consistently towards its core function, as defined by Venturi in his lecture at the conference of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in Genoa in 1953:

„[The task of] exhibiting in art museums is easy to formulate, but difficult to realise. Among the paintings and sculptures in a museum, one must choose those that have a certain artistic value, and one must present them to the viewer in a way that makes their aesthetic character evident [...] Indeed, the director of an art museum aims to lead the public to an aesthetic understanding of the work of art. By formulating the problem in this way, one avoids the difficulty of the differences in taste between the elites and the common people, because one must not bring the people to the level of the elites, but to the level of aesthetic truth, that truth that Kant spoke of, which exists even if it cannot be logically demonstrated.“<sup>38</sup>

Neither the aesthetic turn of the educational mission of the museum, nor the background conviction of an aesthetic empathy was unusual in the context of the 1950s – even the opponents of the 'second museum reform' shared these views, as will be shown in the following. It was only when these aims were applied to a mass audience, which was expressly intended to include industrial workers and therefore demanded extraordinary efforts from the institution, that a new and extremely controversial handling of museum art became apparent. The aesthetic contemplation, which was to be made possible for every viewer to the museum, no matter how unprepared, could only succeed with 'true art', which in the sense of Croce's idealism represented a totality, which is why Venturi demanded a strict selection of the presented exhibits, which should exclude everything that was merely of historical-documentary interest, or served the purpose of art-scientific comparison. For the same reason, he also demanded a spatial separation between the original exhibits and any didactic historical explanation of their origin. In his view, the goal cannot be the mediation of historical or art historical knowledge, i.e. the formation of a cognitive nature, but rather an emotional experience to which even the uneducated would be receptive, if they were only offered the appropriate framework of perception. But special conditions would have to be created in the museum for this act of emotional appropriation:





4 Presentation of paintings in the Picasso exhibition in the Palazzo Reale in Milan 1953

„In the end, man and the work of art must meet alone. [...] Each work should be detached from the wall and presented in such a way that it can be viewed not only in isolation but also under a light that is unique to it. For this purpose, the Roman architect Menichetti designed a very slender vertical stand, fixed at the height of the wall by a horizontal apparatus of variable length. The painting is thus attached to the stand in such a way that it receives the most favourable light [for itself], tilted towards the back wall in a way that differs from that of the neighbouring paintings, which contributes greatly to its insulation. If we then add that the background, which was pleated, produced a continuous nuance of *chiaroscuro*, and that the light was diffused by *velum*, we understand that the space of isolation surrounds the painting with an atmospheric halo that is very beneficial for its contemplation.“<sup>39</sup>

Venturi obviously expected that such interventions in the display would lead to an increase in the impact of the formal-aesthetic qualities of the works of art, which could enable – if not altogether force – the unspoiled viewer, whose presence in the museum he dreamed of, to react emotionally. Nothing was spared in order to integrate the ‘common people’ into the institution, even if it encroached on the autonomy of the artwork. His basic art-theoretical assumptions and their practical consequences for exhibitions can easily be recognised in the contributions of Hans Curjel discussed above, up to the same exemplary solution in the Milan Picasso exhibition of 1953, whose model character in Italian museum theory was apparently familiar to the German-speaking publicist from this discourse (Fig. 4). However, Curjel refrained from making transparent to his readers the cultural-political intention underlying Venturi’s new museological concept. The aesthetic mass education, which was intended to bring the previously excluded working class into the formerly bourgeois institution, was transformed for him seamlessly into a politically neutral innovation, presented as an anthropological



insight into aesthetic conditions of perception. It is probably safe to assume that Curjel made this reinterpretation out of consideration for the anti-communist mood in Switzerland and West Germany.

### **The museum and the modern work environment**

While Curjel's call to overcome the 'dictatorship of the wall' was based on Venturi's concept, which was primarily geared towards dealing with historical art, his thoughts on a hyperflexible exhibition space were based on accents that Venturi's former student, the art critic and publicist Giulio Carlo Argan, had added to the museum education programme. Argan distinguished himself in the post-war period as one of the leading interpreters of modern and contemporary art and architecture in Italy, and distanced himself from his past in the fascist party in favour of a politically leftist orientation, which saw him even become the first mayor of Rome to be appointed by the Communist Party much later.<sup>40</sup> Although his contribution to museum reform took up Venturi's slogan of the 'museum as school', he based the required aesthetic mediation on John Dewey's anti-idealist aesthetics, which diametrically contradicted Venturi's philosophical borrowings.<sup>41</sup> According to Dewey, art experience was a kind of heightened everyday experience that would only have been separated from life by the autonomy of art in the bourgeois society of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following the example of the pre-war avant-gardes, who had already imagined a reconciliation of art and life, Argan demanded that art must now be brought back to the modern world.<sup>42</sup> For the museum, this initially meant turning away from historicism. Even the most abstract allusion to the historical context of historical art would be counterproductive, ignoring the change in function of the objects through their setting in a museum, and impairing their aesthetic appropriation by modern man. The factory worker in particular should instead recognise his own reality of life in an uncompromisingly modern museum presentation that resembles his working world. Only then would the museum become „efficient“,<sup>43</sup> by contributing to the formation of taste among its visitors, which could also be promoted by the confrontation of historical and modern art, or the inclusion of 'industrial design' in the art museum. In contrast, the traditional museum, supported by a conservative attitude, remains socially ineffective:

„There is no relation between the museum and the production world. The humanistic conception of a work of art as an absolute masterpiece in itself has the natural effect of placing the tremendous production that is due to craftsmanship in the shade, although that production is a living entity linking ideals in art to social life. The museum represents essentially a culture of *elites*, and exerts no influence on the culture of the masses.“<sup>44</sup>

Argan initially expected that this radical programme would only be realised in the context of special educational exhibitions, as the traditional character of Italian museums, with their emphasis on the preservation of historical works of art, could not be changed. However, even collections which, for economic reasons alone, could not afford to become up-to-date by actively expanding their holdings of modern art, could achieve an education of taste if they at least consistently modernised their displays. In this way, contemporary design also enters the exhibitions, if only through the back door by the display of the exhibits. In any case, modern architecture provides the appropriate design tools for the social activation process, not least with the principle of an open floor plan,<sup>45</sup> even though Argan certainly overestimated the importance of the building type within the historical avant-garde:



5 Hall of Early Flemish Painting in the Museo di Palazzo Bianco in Genoa, display 1949–1951



6 Tomb of Margarethe von Brabant by Giovanni Pisano in the Museo di Palazzo Bianco in Genoa, display 1949–1951

„The museum is one of the favourite subjects of modern architects and some of the greatest among them (it is enough here to recall Wright, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe) have tried, at least on paper, to establish the architectural *type* of the modern museum. [...] The museum is no longer the ‚temple‘ (or, even worse, the mausoleum) of art, but a living centre of learning and work, indeed the centre of those aesthetic activities to which, as is well known, an essential importance is now attached in the field of social life and education. [...] In an age like ours, characterised by the mechanisation of industrial production and tormented by the fear of the destructive consequences, that this repetitive mechanisation has on the consciousness of the individual, the museum represents in a certain sense the great reservoir of the pure values of quality (which are always historical values), and the indispensable leader of the forces that aim to reintroduce the principle of quality into an activity that tends to become exclusively quantitative.“<sup>46</sup>

### The Museo di Palazzo Bianco as a draft paradigm

In fact, Italian museum practice in the post-war period, when it was committed to the new museology, took up Argan's demand to create a modern perceptual framework for (mostly historical) art that showed clear similarities to the industrial workplace. This tendency is particularly well illustrated by the re-establishment of the municipal art collections in the Museo di Palazzo Bianco in Genoa, one of the first major re-establishments of a historical art museum in the country and among them the most frequently reviewed individual example internationally.<sup>47</sup> Celebrated by its supporters as an ex-

emplary response to contemporary demands, this redesign, as will be shown later, has been understood even by conservative opponents of the new Italian museology as a paradigm that they felt they had to counteract. Like most Italian museums housed in a historical building, an 18th-century patrician palace whose spatial structure could not be fundamentally altered despite war damage, the installation of historical works of art in the interiors, largely freed of the decoration, in 1949–1951 by the architect

Franco Albini, nevertheless appears radically modern. This effect was due not least to the various new fixing techniques with which the exhibition designer had experimented and the industrial appearance of the materials used. The Renaissance and Baroque paintings, which were often exhibited without picture frames, were either suspended from a picture rail on the ceiling with steel rods, so that they floated freely at a certain distance in front of the wall, or they were attached to vertically positioned steel tubes with sleeves at the back, which, anchored in low stone pedestals, could be freely positioned in the room (Fig. 5).<sup>48</sup> The presentation most reminiscent of an industrial working situation was the mounting of a Gothic sculpture fragment on a hydraulic lifting platform, which the visitor could adjust in height and rotate around its axis with the aid of an electric switch. (Fig. 6). It is no coincidence that Argan in his review for the Italian architecture magazine *Metron*, emphasises this device in particular, which seemed questionable, even to many well-meaning critics:

„Special solutions have been developed for some works of outstanding importance. One of them is the famous fragment of the tomb of Margaret of Brabant, which is mounted on a cylindrical support made of steel tubes, which can be rotated and raised by means of an electric control. From our point of view, this is a particularly interesting and excellent innovation regarding systems for presenting fragments of sculpture: it allows the work of art to be studied from countless points of view and at various heights, in absolute isolation from any constraints of the environment, and therefore in the best possible conditions for appreciating the specific qualities of the form.“<sup>49</sup>

In the face of vehement rejection, which implied a disdain for Giovanni Pisano's work of art, Argan wanted to support the claim of the architect and the responsible museum director Caterina Marcenaro, that they had sought the ideal condition for a reception of the aesthetic form of the work of art. The reviewer no longer explicitly justifies the industrial character of the 'movable pedestal', as an allusion to the working world of the intended observer, which is only indirectly mentioned in the concluding remarks, which generally emphasise the potential of modern architecture for the cultural and social functions of the museum. Similarly, in the writings justifying their redesign and borrowing central concepts from the texts of Venturi and Argan, the museum director and the architect also avoided stressing too much the socio-political objective of 'aesthetic education'.<sup>50</sup> In 1954, in her contribution to the magazine *Museum*, published by UNESCO, Marcenaro justified the erection of the tomb fragment with the identical argument as Argan, while placing it at the same time within the design concept of the entire reorganisation:

„In the interests of education, the palace concept was abandoned and the museum criterion strictly adhered to. In other words, the works of art were treated not as the decorative part of a given setting, but as a world in themselves, sufficient to absorb the visitor's full attention. To avoid distracting that attention, care was taken when arranging the rooms so far as possible to dispense with all embellishments either in material, form or colour - the intention being to provide the tranquil visual background that is desirable, if not essential, for the contemplation of a work of representational art. [...] To have placed the fragment on a pedestal or in the shadow of a marble or other niche would have been, not only to resort to arbitrary treatment and revive the thorny question of the genuine versus the spurious, but to bring undue influence to bear on the work, especially as regards proportion, thus confusing the general public and disturbing the atmosphere of purity and tranquility which I consider essential when a visitor – particularly an uninformed visitor – approaches a real masterpiece.“<sup>51</sup>

From today's perspective, the characterisation of the display practice in the Palazzo Bianco as marked by a calm concentration on the work of art, seems hardly comprehensible in view of the prominence of the fastening technologies, especially in view of the natural temptation to abuse the interactive hydraulics of the controversial display as an end in itself.<sup>52</sup> Their real justification becomes apparent only in the concluding remark, the intention to accommodate the 'uninformed observer', whose social identity is obviously constructed in antithesis to the bourgeois elite, whose interference Marcenaro had previously held responsible for the inability of the major museums in the capital to reform. „Certain influential circles“ equated the museum with their own cultural standards and thus prevented its educational function from being able to take effect.<sup>53</sup> This agenda also sounds similarly restrained in the case of the architect with whom Marcenaro had worked so congenially. Albini at least pointed out to his audience at the conference of the professional association ICOM in Genoa in 1953, which presented the newly established Museo di Palazzo Bianco to the international museum world and at which, as reported, Venturi also appeared, that the work of art had to be „democratised“ by its connection to modern culture.<sup>54</sup> For him, the decisive role in this respect was played by the adequate design of the exhibition rooms, for which the museum's own new furnishing on site provided the unspoken model, as the sceptical listeners in the subsequent discussion naturally assumed:

„In addition, the educational mission of the museum and the need to allow it to participate in contemporary life is reaffirmed [today]. This is the reason why the attention of the museum's re-organiser is not limited to the work of art, but is also directed towards the public, and why architecture becomes a mediator between the work of art and the public. The museum has the purpose to make the visitor understand that the works he admires, whether they are historical or modern, belong to his culture, to his real and current life [...]. Architecture aims to create a mood for the contemporary public, using elements that are in harmony with the visitors, with their personality [...] their current culture, and in this way creates the most appropriate environment for understanding and enjoying works of art.“<sup>55</sup>

### **The opponents of the new museology**

The reluctance of the Italian museum reformers to spell out in more concrete terms the 'democratisation' of the institution they were striving for is probably a consequence of the fierce counter-reaction that they were met with from the outset by the international experts, now forming an ever more coherent network. Driven by the concern that their criticism of the bourgeois elitist character of the traditional art museum could offer an additional political target in the wake of the growing anti-communism of the 1950s, they increasingly preferred to emphasise the empathetic aesthetics behind the intention of their work, which even their conservative opponents could not fundamentally contradict, rather than the social expansion of the public. As a result, these critics presented their objections to the 'second museum reform' in the apparently apolitical discursive space of basic theoretical assumptions about art, and practical experience in dealing with museological problems, without linking the paradigm they rejected with a political ideology. A German-speaking antipode to Curjel, the conservative art critic Niels von Holst, whose role as press spokesman and self-proclaimed 'chief ideologist' of the State Museums in Berlin during the Nazi era had fallen into oblivion, explained to his readers in 1954, in the art market journal *Die Weltkunst*, the re-establishment of the Italian museums that had been completed to date.<sup>56</sup> His overview begins with positively evaluated, traditional results in Rome and Florence<sup>57</sup> and then turns to questionable examples in Northern Italy, supposedly marked by industrial avant-gardism:



„The most extreme solutions are offered by the Municipal Museum in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa. Here it is relevant that the holdings of works of art from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries are not very significant, so one tries to improve the effect by *mise-en-scène* [...]. What is happening in Genoa would be completely acceptable in a modern art show – but a marble relief from a 14<sup>th</sup> century tomb and Baroque altars do not succeed if they are presented together like a wire sculpture by Calder and a painting by Kandinsky. [...] According to the principle *„ornament is a crime“*, all decorated gold frames were removed and not even replaced by wooden strips. The surprised visitor soon realises however, that the picture frame is indispensable as an aesthetic no man's land, as a neutral zone between *„picture“* and *„world“*. Furthermore, not only in sculptures, but curiously also in paintings, the *„dictatorship of the wall“* (so it is said), is broken with; in cylindrical blocks of stone, iron rods are cemented and then then paintings are screwed into them. Those who look around during the walk through the museum will only see the old dark and dirty backs. Textiles are displayed in cleverly conceived showcases, but their construction and lighting are so smugly displayed that one tends to overlook their contents.“<sup>58</sup>

While Holst interprets this particular misperformance as a local overcompensation for insignificance, he gives the overall impression that a tendency can be observed in Italy that he had already condemned elsewhere as „machines for storing and presenting works of art“, using a French quotation.<sup>59</sup> For obvious reasons, he demonstrated his knowledge of the terminology of the German-speaking advocates of this museum reorientation by referring to Curjel's *„dictatorship of the wall“*, in order to immunise his readership against attempts at imitation at home. Conversely, he presented the practices of the Louvre to his audience as the most intellectually demanding counter-project, with whose protagonists he shared the criticism of the new Italian museology. There they upheld the idea that a museum should remain „a magical home of timeless art beyond everyday life“. <sup>60</sup> One of his sources was Germain Bazin, chief curator of the Louvre Painting Gallery since 1953, and probably the most influential French museum theorist of the post-war period.<sup>61</sup> Bazin also assumed that the Italians were driven by an overcompensation for their former backwardness in not having modernised their museums before the war:

„Museological functionalism“, which around 1930 was seen as the ultimate solution [for exhibition display], with the greatest respect for the autonomy of the object, is itself well on the way to becoming old-fashioned, except in Italy, where it is tested with a passion that is explained [only] by the desire to free itself from a suffocating academicism. [...] Even if a few galleries, such as Parma's or the Brera in Milan, have oriented themselves towards a *„luxurious“* presentation, Italy is generally going through the experience of functionalism, from which it was kept away by fascist academism.“<sup>62</sup>

He therefore misunderstood the new museum practice emerging in Italy as a continuation of the *„white cube“*, while its prehistory in the temporary exhibition displays from the Fascist period, in which the later museum architects had tested their methods, was apparently unknown to him.<sup>63</sup> In an extreme example like the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa, this „functionalism“ has turned into an almost iconoclastic „futurism“. <sup>64</sup> Surprisingly, this criticism can be found in a report on the re-installation of the Louvre's collection of paintings, for which Bazin was largely responsible, and thus unintentionally confirms the paradigmatic significance that its opponents attributed to the most prominent example of the new museum reform in Italy. The current display of the main rooms of the *„belle etage“* of the former royal residence in Paris, could be understood as a draft paradigm diametrically opposed to Genoa, for over-



7 Cycle of paintings by Peter Paul Rubens from the gallery of the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris, as displayed in the Musée du Louvre in 1953

coming the pre-war dogma of the simulation of the artist's studio, whose accentless monotony in background colour or lighting was rejected equally by both Bazin and Curjel.<sup>65</sup>

### **The Louvre as a counter-paradigm**

Plans for the re-installation of the Louvre dated back to 1929, when Henri Verne, then director of the French State Museums, envisaged a fundamental redistribution and modernisation in the sense of the studio space simulation.<sup>66</sup> This programme was extensively prepared until the outbreak of the war and the dispersal of the collections, and became the basis for the post-war rearrangement of the Louvre, which began with the opening of the 'Salon Carré' in 1947.<sup>67</sup> While the historical hall in question had initially been adapted to the model of the 'white cube', Georges Salles, the successor as director, allowed the curator René Huyghe and his assistant, and later successor in office Bazin, to redesign the following areas, which now aimed at an associative historical contextualisation on the exhibits.<sup>68</sup> Beginning with the reinstallation of the 'Grande Galerie', which was to be adapted to the appearance it had have in an utopian painting by Hubert Robert from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, by means of pilasters in the style of the existing Napoleonic arches and (for economic reasons not actually realised) dark coloured velvet wall coverings,<sup>69</sup> the Louvre's redesign drew on a broad spectrum of older display practices prior to the 'white cube'. This included a complete re-framing of all the paintings in original frames of their period of origin, for which the museum had built up an extensive collection of historical frames, or, where necessary, their reproduction on the basis of contemporary models.<sup>70</sup> In contrast to the decision in Genoa to remove historically unrelated picture frames from more recent times without replacement, especially museum frames from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this practice followed the same perceptual-aes-

thetic postulate from the early days of the museum reform, which had also demanded differently coloured walls in harmonious accordance with the colour spectrum of individual, stylistically homogeneous groups of exhibits in one room.<sup>71</sup>

This agenda becomes particularly clear in the exhibition of Peter Paul Rubens' large-format painting series for Maria de' Medici, whose presentation in a gallery of the Palais du Luxembourg, should now be recreated in the museum as far as possible (Fig. 7).<sup>72</sup> Where Caterina Marcenaro understood the lack of historical documentation as a licence for her modern installation of the tomb fragment by Giovanni Pisano, Bazin regretted the gaps in the knowledge of such details as the pedestal, wall covering or frame shape, which would have permitted only an approximation of the historical model:

„The twenty-one pictures in the Gallery have now been restored to the logical and chronological order adopted previously in the Palais du Luxembourg; they are displayed, in all their vastness, against a rich but sober background of marble and red velvet [...]. The black and gold frames of the pictures are inspired, in their design, by frames of the same kind used for pictures by Rubens and his school in Antwerp churches. From photographs that I had taken of some of these Antwerp frames, Mr. Emilio Tery designed three types of frame – two black and gold and one white and gold – of which full-scale models were made. [...] These various experiments resulted in the adoption of the more sober type of frame, whose Baroque style, in keeping with the architecture of Rubens' time, is emphasized by its protruding 'key' and general shape. Unfortunately, we have no exact information about the frames which enclosed the pictures in the Galerie du Luxembourg; but Bellori tells us that they were black with gilded arabesques.“<sup>73</sup>

This museum historicism shaped the first post-war years during René Huyghe's term of office, while the later sections, which were only completed under Bazin's direction, were able to allude to the historical context of the works of art more associatively, by making use of modern forms as well. For example, Bazin showed the painting decoration of an Italian Renaissance 'studiolo' in several registers on top of each other on a slightly curved plywood wall, which, in an abstract way, alluded to the typical panelling of wooden intarsia in the historical prototypes.<sup>74</sup> However, the intention remained always to convey the historically documented installation methods and thus the original functional context of the exhibits. It is precisely this intention that distinguishes the practice in the Louvre sharply from the new Italian museology, which consistently insisted on the functional transformation of art through its entry into the museum, only allowing it to be regarded as an object of aesthetic contemplation



8 Exhibition room at the Tesoro del Duomo di S. Lorenzo in Genoa, as displayed since 1956





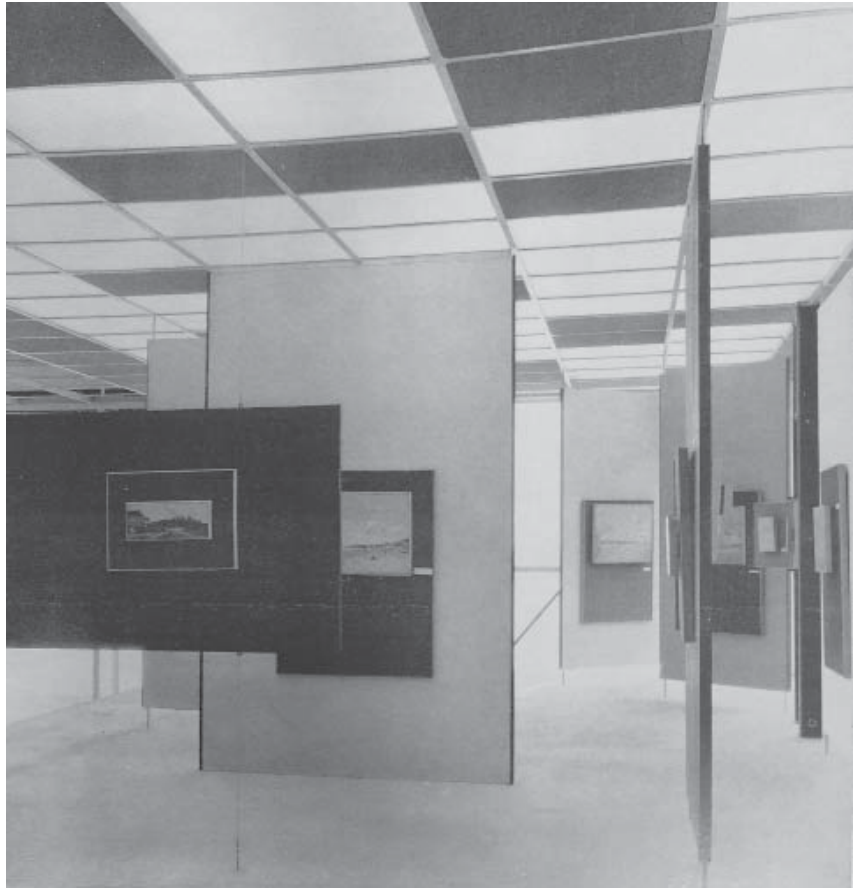
9 Sculpture exhibition in the Museo Civico di Castello Sforzesco in Milan, as displayed in 1955/56

and avoiding any reference to earlier ways of use as unnecessary or even counterproductive. However, the exhibition practice of the Louvre proved to be at least as exemplary as its Italian alternative. Supported by international publications in English, especially the large historical collections of paintings in the English speaking world copied it, such as the National Gallery of Art in London, or in Washington.<sup>75</sup> Many smaller museums in the USA, with a more heterogeneous collection, tended on the other hand to prefer the free-associative allusion of historical contexts of installation and use in an abstract form, for which older models from their own tradition of museum reform were available as inspiration as well.<sup>76</sup> For example, the German museum director Alexander Dorner used his historicizing ‚mood rooms‘, which he had tried out before 1933 in the Provinzialmuseum in Hannover, also in exile in the USA in the installation of the university collection of Providence/R.I. The considerable scepticism of the art historian Carlo Ragghianti towards this practice, in a review of Dorner’s professional biography, once again illustrates the contrast between the two irreconcilable museological positions.<sup>77</sup>

### **A ‚historic compromise‘**

Around the mid-1950s, a rapprochement between the historical-contextualising and the more modernist museum practice began to emerge, which ultimately brought the two camps together to form a model capable of consensus. In reference to the later political understanding between Christian Democrats and Communists in Italy, this process could be described as something like the ‚historic compromise‘ anticipated on the cultural level. Not only in the Louvre, but also among the leading protago-





10 Exhibition of 19th-century paintings at the Musée d'art moderne in Le Havre, first installation in 1961

nists of the museum reform in Italy, museum exhibition practice had in the meantime changed. When designing the new underground exhibition rooms for the Cathedral Treasury in Genoa, again under the responsibility of Marcenaro and Albin in 1956, the architect chose the spatial form of a Mycenaean circular tomb as a motif repeated several times over for the presentation of the completed collection, which did not require any flexibility to accommodate future changes (Fig. 8).<sup>78</sup>

These Bronze Age „tholoi“<sup>79</sup> in no way refer to a historical context of the medieval reliquaries and paraments, but in their windowless, walled-in enclosure, they do create the association of a crypt-like ‚treasure chamber‘. In a similar way, the architects Ludovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti and Ernesto Rogers (BBPR), tried to evoke in the visitor the romantic association of a medieval castle when they set up the municipal art collections in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, which was first partially opened in 1956. They did this without hinting at the historical installation context of the sculptures, of mostly sacred origin, or the former city and palace gates, and without compromising the necessary flexibility for future re-arrangements (Fig. 9).<sup>80</sup> In both cases, the intention of mediation aimed at the ‚broad mass of the people‘, beyond the educated bourgeoisie, remained true to itself, even if the machine-aesthetic appearance of the display, which was previously considered necessary for this purpose, has now been replaced by recourse to carefully selected and formally abstracted historical models.<sup>81</sup>

This rapprochement was possible because the politically conservative and progressive museum reformers differed in their cultural and political intentions, but not in their basic assumptions of empathetic aesthetics. André Malraux and René Huyghe, French pioneers in the conception of museologi-

cal theory, were, like Venturi and Argan, convinced that the historical significance of a work of art was spontaneously revealed in the emotional appropriation of its form by a contemporary viewer, if only a suitable framework of perception for this form of reception could be created. In his speech at the re-opening of the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1954, Malraux described the psychological displacement activity, which Venturi had hoped to achieve through ‚contemplation‘, without further explanation as a state of emotional „excitement“, that occurs when encountering true art.<sup>82</sup> While Malraux refused to draw concrete museological consequences from his art theoretical aphorisms, Huyghe, as a museum practitioner, makes it possible to reconcile his contribution to art theory with his own way of staging art in the Louvre. Like Venturi, he distanced himself from pure style analysis, for which Henri Focillon stood as an example in this instance, in favour of a „psychology of art“, which would now be required to sense the hidden ‚content‘ of the work of art, without giving up the ability to differentiate precisely between forms.<sup>83</sup> In justifying his museum practice on the other hand, he claimed that this differentiation of form, and thus the possibility of empathy with a certain emotional state specific to a certain epoch, could only be brought about by a stylistically adapted environment, which would have to be based on the same means of design that characterised the works of art exhibited in it.<sup>84</sup>

In order to approach the ‚second museum reform‘, French museum practice only had to bid farewell to this explicit historicism, just as the Italian reformers had to abandon the analogy with the industrial workplace, in order to gain international acceptance for a modern framework of perception. The result is reflected in the growing number of new museum buildings that have followed the same modern exhibition practice throughout Western Europe since the end of the decade, regardless of whether they were also intended to present historical art, mostly 19<sup>th</sup> century paintings and sculptures, or only modern and contemporary works. The desire to overcome the ‚dictatorship of the wall‘ by means of free hanging or standing displays, characterises the hyperflexible new exhibition spaces of the buildings of the Galleria civica d'arte moderna in Turin (1954–1959), the Musée d'art moderne in Le Havre (1958–1961, (Fig. 10), the Museum of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Vienna (1962) or the New National Gallery in West-Berlin (1965–1968).<sup>85</sup>

In the words of the museum director of Le Havre, Reynold Arnould, as can be gathered from a German magazine interview in 1956, the popular educational intention is already fading to an unspecific education for freedom, while the older French idea of an intellectually not completely resolvable, and therefore mysterious psychology of form, has apparently survived the institution's orientation towards the present without a break:

„The museum was for a long time ‚a distant mausoleum‘, reserved for a small number of already educated visitors. The museum should be aware of its social and educational mission and be a living organism in the urban community. [...] The present museum wants to give the object as much strength, comprehensibility and personality as possible. The presentation should help the public to become aware of themselves and of the freedom that the past gives us to take dangerous paths in the present. [...] The way in which an object is shown depends on the object on display; it determines the interior design of a museum. The presentation of a work [of art] consists in its ability to freely construct the space offered by the museum, in relation to itself. [Such] a functional presentation should also be discreet enough to allow the work to retain its value as a secret language and statement.“<sup>86</sup>

In this context, the discretion demanded by Arnould can only be understood as a rejection of an all too preponderant technique of fixtures that competes with the attention paid to the exhibits, for which French critics of the time had criticised the display of the Palazzo Bianco. In doing so, it renounced the continuous transition from the everyday life of the visitors to the 'artistic space' of the museum, at least if this reality was to be characterised by an industrial work situation. The astonishing success of the 'second museum reform', illustrated by the adoption in Le Havre as the supposedly scientifically founded museology 'sui generis', came at a high price, namely the detachment of this new exhibition practice from its original social reform agenda, which finally fell completely into oblivion. It reached its climax at a moment when the basic assumptions of the aesthetics of empathy, as they had shaped the museological discourse of the post-war period, met with fundamental opposition for the first time. For the socially critical generation of 1968, for whom the institution only performed a compensatory function in exchange for an aesthetically and socially deficient everyday life, the similar origin of the 'second museum reform' in a moment of social criticism at the end of the war was no longer recognisable.

Translation from German by David Westley

## Notes

- 1 Alexis Joachimides, *Die Museumsreformbewegung in Deutschland und die Entstehung des Modernen Museums 1880–1940*, Dresden/Basel 2001; Charlotte Klonk, *Spaces of Experience. Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000*, New Haven/Conn. and London 2009, here pp. 49–85.
- 2 Matthew Stuart Prichard, *Current Theories on the Arrangement of Museums of Art and their Application to the Museum of Fine Arts* (Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Communications to the Trustees 2), Boston 1904; Benjamin Ives Gilman, *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method*, Cambridge/Mass. 1918; Laurence Vail Coleman, *The Museum in America. A critical Study*, 3 vols., Washington 1939.
- 3 Germain Bazin, *Knaurs Galerien der Welt. Der Louvre*, Munich/Zürich 1958, S. 73–77; Germain Bazin, *Le temps des musées*, [Liège et al.] 1967, pp. 263–265.
- 4 The term goes back to Brian O'Doherty, „Inside the White Cube. Notes on the Gallery Space“, in: *Artforum* 14, No. 7 (1976), pp. 24–30 and No. 8, pp. 26–34; on the interpretation as a simulation of the artist's studio see Joachimides 2001 (as note 1), pp. 211–224.
- 5 *Muséographie. Architecture et aménagement des musées d'art. Conférence internationale d'études*, 2 vols., ed. by Office international des Musées, Madrid 1934; see also Joachimides 2001 (as note 1), pp. 242–245.
- 6 An international damage report commissioned by UNESCO is contained in Simone Gille-Delafon, „Rapport sur la reconstruction des musées d'art/The Reconstruction of Art Museums“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestrielle/Quarterly Review* 2 (1949), pp. 68–75.
- 7 In Italy alone, a government report lists 150 new museum installations as early as 1953; cf. *Musei e Gallerie d'arte in Italia 1945–1953*, ed. by Giorgio Rosi, Rome 1953.
- 8 Limited up to now mainly to Italy, cf., amongst others, Marisa Dalai Emiliani, „Musei della ricostruzione in Italia, tra disfatta e rinvincita della storia“, in: *Carlo Scarpa a Castelvecchio*, ed. by Licisco Magagnato, Milan 1982, pp. 149–170; Antonella Huber, *Il museo italiano. La trasformazione di spazi storici in spazi espositivi. Attualità dell'esperienza museografica degli anni '50*, Milan 1997; Marisa Dalai Emiliani, *Per una critica della museografia del Novecento in Italia. Il saper mostrare di Carlo Scarpa*, Venice 2008; Maria Cecilia Mazzi, *Musei anni '50. Spazio, forma, funzione*, Florence 2009.
- 9 Roberto Aloï, *Musei. Architettura - Tecnica. Con un saggio di Carlo Bassi*, Milan 1962 und Michael Brawne, *Neue Museen. Planung und Einrichtung*, Stuttgart 1965 aimed at an international readership with multilingual texts. The normal state of affairs can better be seen in the large number of reviews in contemporary art magazines of reopenings of museums not included in these textbooks, which only reached a national audience.

- 10 This argument is prepared in Alexis Joachimides, „Ausstellungsmaschinen‘. Die Utopie einer Neuerfindung des Museums in der Nachkriegszeit 1945–1965“, in: *kritische berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 46, No. 2 (2018), pp. 51–59.
- 11 Dalai Emiliani 2008 (as note 8), pp. 13–49; Daniela Mondini und Isabel Haupt, „Purismus oder Evokation? Beiträge von Franco Albini und BBPR zur Inszenierung mittelalterlicher Exponate in italienischen Museen der Nachkriegszeit“, in: *Musealisierung mittelalterlicher Kunst. Anlässe, Ansätze, Ansprüche*, ed. by Wolfgang Brückle et al., Berlin 2015, pp. 211–234; Kristina Kratz-Kessemeier, „Ästhetik und Vermittlung. Bildungspolitische Hintergründe moderner Museumsbauten 1945–1968“, in: *kritische berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 46, No. 2 (2018), pp. 7–17.
- 12 In addition to the publications of UNESCO and ICOM, 20 art, architecture and design journals from West Germany, Switzerland and France, Italy and Great Britain, which appeared in the period 1945–1965, were evaluated without any claim to completeness. The result is around 50 more detailed statements, which provide at least a representative cross-section.
- 13 Hans Curjel, „Über einige Museums- und Ausstellungsprobleme“, in: *Das Werk* 40, No.2 (1953), pp. 128–132.
- 14 For his biography see Ingrid Bigler-Marschall, „Hans Curjel“, in: *Theaterlexikon der Schweiz online*, [http://tls.theaterwissenschaft.ch/wiki/Hans\\_Curjel](http://tls.theaterwissenschaft.ch/wiki/Hans_Curjel) (06.02.2020).
- 15 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), pp. 128: „Die Ausstellungsmethoden unsrer Zeit [...] sind bisher kaum oder nur partiell zu den Problemen vorgedrungen, welche die Darbietung von Werken der bildenden Künste in Museen und Ausstellungen stellt. [...] Als Typus herrscht die klassische Struktur vor: repräsentative Eingangshallen und Stiegenhäuser, im Gesamtplan architektonisch konzipierte, stabile Säle oder Kabinette mit mehr oder weniger gut gelöster Belichtung, die Gemälde in kultivierter Weise an den Wänden angeordnet, deren Farbe und Wandstruktur mit Sorgfalt bestimmt wird, die Skulpturen auf neutralen Sockeln [...]. Wenn auch nicht mehr die Bepflasterung der Wände, so doch gleichwohl eine Aufreihung, die ihre Herkunft von früherer Stapelung nicht verleugnen kann. Immer noch klingt die Herkunft des Bildermuseums von der ‚Galerie‘ nach, die auf Grund bestimmter Voraussetzungen – Sammeln an sich und Repräsentation – entstanden ist.“
- 16 The new museum building, built between 1928 and 1935, was the focus of discussion in Madrid, cf. Joachimides 2001 (as note 1), pp. 242–245. If there is any doubt as to what Curjel’s criticism is directed at, it is dispelled by the reference to the Kunsthalle Basel, which was built at about the same time as Rotterdam, as a negative example, see Hans Curjel, „Anmerkungen zum Museumsbau“, in: *Das Werk* 42, No. 9 (1955), pp. 269–272, here p. 270.
- 17 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), p. 131.
- 18 Curjel 1955 (as note 16), p. 271.
- 19 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), p. 129: „In solche neutrale Raumgebilde können Einbauten verschiedenster Art gestellt werden, die sich ohne Kollisionsgefahr mit bestehenden stabilen Raumformen frei entfalten können: Wände jeder Art, Paravents, senkrechtes Gitterwerk, Stoffunterteilungen, geometrisch kubische Gebilde als räumliche Akzente. Sie sind die Voraussetzungen für organische Aufteilungen, die ohne Bindungen an irgendwelche unverrückbare rektanguläre Festlegungen aus dem zur Darstellung zu gelangenden Material entwickelt werden können. Daraus wiederum ergeben sich Möglichkeiten für lebendige Akzentuierungen, zu räumlichen Balancen und rhythmischen Folgen, in die das Material auf Grund der in ihm liegenden inneren Zusammenhänge gestellt werden kann, wobei auch die Möglichkeit klassischer Symmetrie keineswegs ausgeschlossen bleibt.“ The final remark refers to a current controversy about the symmetrical arrangement of exhibits in art museums; see Georg Schmidt, „La présentation asymétrique. Une mode esthétique, une méthode scientifique“, in: *Conférence générale de l’ICOM 3* (1953), pp. 132–140.
- 20 This position was still defended at the same time by Georg Schmidt, director of the Kunsthalle Basel, in Georges Salles, Robert de Vries et al., „Accrochage, couleur des murs, lumière du jour dans une salle de peinture“, in: *Conférence générale de l’ICOM 4* (1956), pp. 93–95, here p. 94.
- 21 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), pp. 129–130; Curjel 1955 (as note 16), p. 272.
- 22 Simultaneously justified by Georg Schmidt for exactly this reason in Salles/de Vries 1956 (as note 20), p. 94.
- 23 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), pp. 129–130; Curjel 1955 (as note 16), pp. 271–272.
- 24 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), p. 130.
- 25 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), pp. 130–131.
- 26 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), p. 130: „Die Vorherrschaft der nur zu oft zu schematischen Wände ist keineswegs selbstverständlich. Gewisse Bilder alter Kunst (Altargemälde) sind nicht dafür geschaffen, auf Wände gepreßt zu werden. Aber auch das Staffeleibild entsteht im freien Raum und ohne Bindung an die Wand. Der hinter dem Bild liegende Raum verleiht ihm eine Art Atmungsmöglichkeit, die ihm an der Wand versagt ist. [...] Angesichts dieser verschiedenen Zusammenhänge ist es verständlich, daß Bestrebungen entstanden sind, die auf eine Ausschaltung der Diktatur der Wand zielen. Praktisch kann dies mit Hilfe verschiedener Methoden geschehen: durch planparallele Heraushebung des Bildes aus der Wand, durch die hinter dem Bild ein Luftraum von beliebigem Ausmaß entsteht; gleichzeitig ergibt sich eine optische Auflösung der Wand selbst und ihre Transformation ins Räumliche [...]. Man hat jedoch auch radikale Lösungen versucht durch freies Einhängen von Bildern in den Raum, das eine organische Vermählung von Bild und Raum ergeben kann. Welche Lösungen sich auch in Zukunft weiterentwickeln werden [...]: die Diktatur der monotonen Wandaufreihung ist gebrochen.“
- 27 Previous reinstalls of West German museums followed the pre-war model of studio space simulation; see Kurt Martin, „Renovation of Museums in Germany“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestrielle/Quarterly Review* 5, No. 3 (1952), pp. 145–155; Erhard



- Göpel, „Herbergen der Bilder. Die Alte Pinakothek in München, das Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Köln wieder eröffnet“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 27, No. 12 (1957), pp. 14–15. For the similar situation in Switzerland, the Kunsthalle in Basel can stand in, explicitly criticised by Curjel, whose exhibition practice under Georg Schmidt has already been referred to; see also Heinz Keller, „Georg Schmidt“, in: *Das Werk* 52, No. 7 (1965), pp. 155–156.
- 28 Curjel 1953 (as note 13), p. 132 (with ill. of Denver). The ‚Schleier Memorial Gallery‘, actually the adaptation of a commercial building, is in the core of the present old building of the Denver Art Museum. The MoMA in New York was very present in contemporary magazines, and therefore not illustrated; cf. from German magazines N.N., „Das Museum of Modern Art“, in: *Das Werk* 33, No. 1 (1946), pp. 32–36; Georg Schmidt, „Hommage an das Museum of Modern Art in New York“, in: *Das Werk* 42, No. 9 (1955), pp. 291–294; Fritz Neugass, „Der auferstandene Phönix. Zur Neueröffnung des Museums of Modern Art, New York“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 28, No. 22 (1958), p. 3.
- 29 Curjel 1955 (as note 16), p. 272; cf. also Hans Curjel, „Die Formung der documenta“, in: *Die Innenarchitektur. Zeitschrift für Ausbau, Einrichtung, Form und Farbe* 3, No. 10 (1956), pp. 629–630. Curjel was already in contact with Arnold Bode during the preparation of the *documenta*; cf. *documenta - bauhaus. Vision und Marke. Die Virtuelle Ausstellung*, ed. by Birgit Jooss, <https://www.documenta-bauhaus.de/de/personen/122/hans-curjel> (06.02.2020).
- 30 Menichetti's construction with dimensions publ. in: *Musei* (Documenti di architettura, composizione e tecnica moderna 26), ed. by Carlo Bassi, Franco Berlanda, and Goffredo Boschetti, Milan 1956, pp. 216–217. Bode knew the exhibition in Milan from his own experience and later referred to it as a point of reference; cf. Harald Kimpel, *Documenta. Mythos und Wirklichkeit* (Schriftenreihe des documenta Archivs 5), Cologne 1997, p. 297.
- 31 Survey reports outside Italy, besides many other individual reviews, include e.g. Giulio Carlo Argan, „Renovation of Museums in Italy/Renouveau des musées en Italie“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestriale/Quarterly Review* 5, No. 3 (1952), pp. 156–164; Giorgio Rosi, „Réorganisation des musées italiens depuis la guerre“, in: *Conférence générale de l'ICOM* 3 (1953), pp. 99–103; Niels von Holst, „Italiens Museen auf neuen Wegen“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 24, No. 21 (1954), pp. 5–7; Franco Russoli, „Pour une muséographie efficace“, in: *L'oeil. Revue d'art mensuelle* 61 (1960), pp. 40–47.
- 32 Curjel 1955 (as note 16), p. 270: „Das Künstlerische soll in seiner äußersten Intensität sichtbar und bewußt gemacht werden; es sind ihm gleichsam Lebensmöglichkeiten zu schaffen, die vom Licht, vom Raum und von der Umgebung abhängen. Zugleich soll die Möglichkeit bestehen, daß die Lebenszusammenhänge des Kunstwerkes in Erscheinung treten können, sein Werden aus der Persönlichkeit dessen, der es geschaffen hat, seine ästhetischen, historischen und gesellschaftlichen Bindungen an Zeit und Umwelt, seine Verflechtung in das Gewebe der gesamten künstlerischen Phänomene. Von diesen verschiedenen Aufgaben aus müssen architektonische Lösungen gefunden werden, durch die jene Synthese von Erlebnis und Erkenntnis zu entstehen vermag, in der nach heutiger Auffassung die eigentliche Wirkung des Kunstwerkes beschlossen liegt.“
- 33 Lionello Venturi, „La pura visibilità e l'estetica moderna“ [1923], in: *ibid.*, *Pretesti di critica*, Milan 1929, pp. 3–23.
- 34 Venturi 1929 (as note 33), pp. 16–17.
- 35 Concerning his biography, cf. *Lionello Venturi. Intellettuale antifascista*, ed. by Giovanni Taurasi, exhibition cat., Istituto storico di Modena, Modena 2006.
- 36 Lionello Venturi, „Il museo-scuola“, in: *La Nuova Europa* 9 September 1945, again in Mazzi 2009 (as note 8), pp. 243–246; Lionello Venturi, „Il museo, scuola del pubblico“, in: *Atti del convegno di museologia organizzato in collaborazione con la Accademia Americana in Roma. Perugia, 18–20 Marzo 1955*, [Perugia] 1955, pp. 31–36; cf. also Mazzi 2009 (as note 8); Mondini/Haupt 2015 (as note 11).
- 37 Venturi 1945 (as note 36), p. 243.
- 38 Lionello Venturi, „Musées et recherche esthétique“, in: *Conférence générale de l'ICOM* 3 (1953), pp. 104–109, here p. 104: „La présentation dans les musées d'art est facile à formuler et difficile à réaliser. Il faut choisir parmi les peintures et sculptures d'un musée celles qui ont une valeur artistique certaine et il faut les présenter au visiteur de manière à mettre en évidence leur caractère esthétique. [...] En effet, le but d'un directeur de musée artistique est d'amener le public à la compréhension esthétique de l'œuvre d'art. Si l'on pose le problème de cette manière on évite la difficulté de la différence des goûts entre les élites et le peuple, puisque il faut amener le peuple au niveau, non des élites, mais de la vérité esthétique, de cette vérité, dont parlait Kant, qui existe même si elle ne peut pas être démontrée logiquement.“
- 39 Venturi 1953 (as note 38), p. 105 and pp. 106–107: „L'homme et l'œuvre d'art doivent à la fin s'affronter seuls. [...] Toute œuvre devrait être détachée du mur, et présentée de manière qu'on puisse la voir non seulement isolée, mais aussi sous l'incidence de la lumière qui lui soit propre. A cette fin l'architecte romain, M. Menichetti, a envisagé un support vertical très mince qui est fixé en haut du mur par un dispositif horizontal de longueur variée. Ainsi le tableau est fixé sur le support de manière à recevoir la lumière la plus favorable, incliné par rapport à la paroi, d'une manière différente que les tableaux voisins, ce qui contribue fort bien à son isolement. Si l'on ajoute que la toile de fond, étant plissée, produit une nuance continue de clair-obscur et que la lumière est diffusée par un vélarium, l'on comprend que l'espace d'isolement du tableau constitue un halo atmosphérique très favorable à sa contemplation.“
- 40 Concerning his biography cf. *Giulio Carlo Argan (1909–1992). Storico dell'arte, critico militante, sindaco di Roma*, ed. by Claudio Gamba, exhibition cat., N.N., Rome 2003; Valentina Russo, *Giulio Carlo Argan. Restauro, critica, scienza*, Florence 2009.

- 41 In contrast, previous research does not take this difference into account, like most recently Mondini/Haupt 2015 (as note 11), p. 213. Argan referred to John Dewey, *Art as Experience*, New York 1934.
- 42 For the following summary cf. Giulio Carlo Argan, „Il museo come scuola“, in: *Comunità. Rivista di informazione culturale* 3, No. 3 (1949), pp. 64–66; Giulio Carlo Argan, „Expositions itinérantes et éducatives dans les musées d'Italie/Circulating and educational Exhibitions in Italian Museums“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestriale/Quarterly Review* 3, No. 4 (1950), pp. 286–291; Argan 1952 (as note 30); Giulio Carlo Argan, „Mostra d'arte italiana all'esposizione del centenario di S. Paolo [São Paulo]. Problemi di museografia“, in: *Casabella continuità. Rivista internazionale di architettura e urbanistica* [3], No. 207 (1955), pp. 64–67.
- 43 Argan 1949 (as note 42), p. 66; the same term also in the title of Russoli 1960 (as note 31).
- 44 Argan 1950 (as note 42), p. 286 [Italics in the original text].
- 45 It could, of course, only be really effective in the few new buildings that were erected in Italy, in the post-war period; cf. Giulio Carlo Argan, „La galleria d'arte moderna nel parco della Villa Reale a Milano. L'architettura del museo“, in: *Casabella continuità. Rivista internazionale di architettura e urbanistica* [2], No. 202 (1954), pp. 10–16 und pp. V–VI.
- 46 Argan 1955 (as note 42), p. 65: „Il museo è uno dei temi preferiti degli architetti moderni e alcuni tra i maggiori di essi (basterà ricordare Wright, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe) hanno cercato di stabilire, almeno sulla carta, il *tipo* architettonico del museo moderno. [...] Il museo non è più il 'tempio' (o, peggio, il mausoleo) dell'arte, ma un vivo centro di studio e di lavoro, anzi il centro di quelle attività estetiche alle quali, com'è noto, si assegna oggi un'importanza essenziale nell'ambito della vita e dell'educazione sociale. [...] In un'epoca come la nostra, caratterizzata dal meccanicismo della produzione industriale e tormentata dal timore delle conseguenze deleterie che quel meccanicismo ripetitivo può avere sulla coscienza dell'individuo, il museo rappresenta in certo senso la grande riserva dei puri valori di qualità (che sono sempre valori storici) e la guida indispensabile degli sforzi rivolti a ri-inserire il principio della qualità in un'attività che tende a diventare esclusivamente quantitativa.“ [Italics in the original text].
- 47 Individual reviews are, amongst others, Giulio Carlo Argan, „La Galleria di Palazzo Bianco a Genova“, in: *Metron. Rivista bimestrale di architettura* 7, No. 45 (1952), pp. 25–39; Luigi Moretti, „Galleria di Palazzo Bianco. Allestimento di Franco Albini“, in: *Spazio. Rassegna delle arti e dell'architettura* [4], No. 7 (1952/53), pp. 31–40 und p. 106; Heinz Keller, „Die Neuordnung des Palazzo Bianco in Genua 1950“, in: *Das Werk* 40, No. 4 (1953), pp. 133–136; cf. also Argan 1952 (as note 31); Russoli 1960 (as note 31).
- 48 For a reconstruction of this display cf. the reviews already mentioned, and the personal testimonies of those responsible, discussed below, as well as Alois 1962 (as note 9), pp. 175–188; Brawne 1965 (as note 9), pp. 32–35, with additional graphic documentation of the installation technique.
- 49 Argan 1952 (as note 46), pp. 26–28: „Per alcune opere di maggiore importanza sono state studiate sistemazioni particolari. Tra queste, ha fatto scandalo il collocamento del famoso frammento della tomba di Margherita di Brabante su un sostegno cilindrico di acciaio a canocchiale, girevole ed elevabile per mezzo di comandi elettrici. È questa invece, a nostro avviso, una interessantissima ed eccellente innovazione nei sistemi di presentazione dei frammenti di scultura: essa permette infatti di studiare l'opera d'arte da infiniti punti di vista e in diverse altezze, nell'assoluto isolamento da ogni condizione ambientale e quindi nella miglior condizione per apprezzare le qualità specifiche della forma.“
- 50 Caterina Marcenaro, „Le concept de musée et la réorganisation du Palazzo Bianco, a Gênes/The Conception and Reorganization of the Museum at Palazzo Bianco, Genoa“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestriale/Quarterly Review* 7, No. 4 (1954), pp. 250–267 contains an explicit reference to Argan 1950 (as note 42).
- 51 Marcenaro 1954 (as note 49), p. 266.
- 52 This objection for example in Russoli 1960 (as note 31), p. 44.
- 53 Marcenaro 1954 (as note 49), p. 262 almost literally adopted from Argan 1950 (as note 42), p. 290.
- 54 Franco Albini, „L'architecture des musées et les musées dans l'urbanisme moderne“, in: *Conférence générale de l'ICOM* 3 (1953), pp. 96–99, here p. 98. The same argument again in Franco Albini, „Funzioni e architettura del museo“, in: *La Biennale di Venezia. Rassegna delle arti contemporanee* [8], No. 31 (1958), pp. 25–31. He also refers (without exact provision of source) like Marcenaro to Argan 1950 (as note 42).
- 55 Albini 1953 (as note 53), p. 97: „On affirme en outre la tâche éducative du musée et la nécessité de le faire participer à la vie contemporaine. C'est ainsi que l'attention du réorganisateur du Musée ne se borne pas à l'œuvre d'art mais se tourne aussi vers le public, et que l'architecture devient la médiatrice entre l'œuvre d'art et le public. Le musée a pour but de faire comprendre au visiteur que les œuvres qu'il admire, qu'elles soient anciennes ou modernes, appartiennent à sa culture, à sa vie réelle et actuelle [...]. L'architecture tend à créer pour le public contemporain une ambiance, grâce à des éléments qui s'accordent avec lui, avec sa personnalité[,] sa culture actuelles [sic] et elle crée ainsi le milieu le plus favorable à la compréhension de l'œuvre d'art et à sa délectation.“
- 56 Niels von Holst, „Italiens Museen auf neuen Wegen“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 24, No. 21 (1954), pp. 5–7. On his Nazi past, cf. Niels von Holst, „Das Kunstmuseum im nachliberalistischen Zeitalter“, in: *Museumskunde* N.F. 6 (1934), pp. 1–9.
- 57 Holst 1954 (as note 55), p. 5 meant the Galleria Borghese and the Uffizi Gallery, i.e. the first partial opening of a more conservative character; cf. Egon Vietta, „Die Neuordnung der Uffizien in Florenz“, in: *Das Kunstwerk* 3, No. 7 (1949), after p. 14. A later section by Ignazio Gardella, Carlo Scarpa et al. (1956) was more modernist; cf. Roberto Salvini, „Il nuovo ordinamento della Galleria [degli Uffizi]“, in: *Casabella continuità. Rivista internazionale di architettura e urbanistica* [5], No. 214 (1957), pp. 20–25; Alois 1962 (as note 9), pp. 335–342.

- 58 Holst 1954 (as note 55), p. 5: „Die extremsten Lösungen bietet das Städtischen Museum im Palazzo Bianco in Genua. Hier spricht mit, daß der Besitz an Kunstwerken des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts nicht sehr bedeutend ist, so daß man durch Regie die Wirkung zu bessern versucht [...]. Was in Genua geschieht, wäre in einer Schau moderner Kunst vorbehaltlos gutzuheißen; aber ein Marmorrelief von einem Grab des 14. Jahrhunderts und barocke Altäre gewinnen nicht, wenn man sie zusammenkomponiert wie eine Drahtplastik von Calder und ein Bild von Kandinsky. [...] Nach dem Grundsatz ‚Ornament ist Verbrechen‘ wurden alle verzierten Goldrahmen beseitigt und nicht einmal durch Holzleisten ersetzt; der überraschte Besucher stellt jedoch alsbald fest, daß der Bilderrahmen als ästhetisches Niemandsland, als neutrale Zone zwischen ‚Bild‘ und ‚Welt‘, unentbehrlich ist. Ferner wird nicht nur bei Skulpturen, sondern kurioserweise auch bei Gemälden mit der ‚Diktatur der Wand‘ (so heißt es) gebrochen; in zylindrischen Steinblöcken sind Eisenstangen einzementiert, an denen die Gemälde angeschraubt werden. Wer sich beim Durchwandern des Museums umsieht, erblickt nur die altersdunklen, verschmutzten Rückseiten. Textilien befinden sich in geistreich erdachten Vitrinen, deren Bauweise und Beleuchtung jedoch so selbstgefällig zur Schau gestellt wird, daß man den Inhalt zu übersehen geneigt ist.“
- 59 Niels von Holst, „Die neuste Entwicklung der Gemädegalerie des Louvre“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 21, No. 21 (1951), pp. 3–4, here p. 3: „des machines à conserver et présenter des œuvres d’art“, without exact source, but with reference to Georges Salles, René Huyghe and Germain Bazin as authors of the montage of quotations from which this excerpt originates. A variant of the same quotation, in direct reference to Genoa, again in Holst 1954 (as note 55), p. 7.
- 60 Holst 1954 (as note 55), p. 7: „die zauberhaft-unalltägliche Wohnstatt zeitloser Kunst“.
- 61 About his biography, see Henri Danesi, „Bazin, Germain René“, in: *Annuaire prosopographique ‚La France savante‘ (CTHS)*, <http://cths.fr/an/savant.php?id=121713> (06.02.2020).
- 62 Germain Bazin, „Variations muséologiques“, in: *Cahiers d’Art* 29, 1954, pp. 93–96, here p. 94: „Le ‚fonctionnalisme muséologique‘ lui-même, entrevu vers 1930 comme la phase définitive et la plus respectueuse de l’autonomie de l’objet, est en passe de devenir démodé, sauf en Italie où on l’éprouve avec une passion qui s’explique par le désir de se débarrasser d’un académisme étouffant. [...] Si la présentation, de luxe‘ a orienté certaines galeries comme celle de Parme ou celle de la Brera à Milan, d’une façon générale, l’Italie fait maintenant l’expérience du fonctionnalisme dont elle fut frustrée par l’académisme faciste.“
- 63 Research nowadays, on the other hand, emphasises continuity with the period before 1945; in terms of exhibition design, most recently, by Chiara Cimoli, *Musei effimeri. Allestimenti di mostre in Italia 1949–1963*, Milan 2007. That a modernist exhibition design was already practiced in Italy under Fascism could have been known at the time of Bazin’s statement; see Richard Paul Lohse, *Neue Ausstellungsgestaltung. 75 Beispiele neuer Ausstellungsform*, Erlenbach/Zürich 1953, pp. 144–149 (BBPR) or pp. 154–157 and pp. 168–169 (Albini).
- 64 Germain Bazin, „New Arrangements at the Department of Paintings, Musée du Louvre, Paris/Nouveaux aménagements du département des peintures au Musée du Louvre, Paris“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestrielle/Quarterly Review* 8, No. 1 (1955), pp. 11–23, here p. 11; see also his critical contribution to the discussion following the lecture in Albini 1953 (as note 53), p. 99.
- 65 Bazin 1954 (as note 61), p. 94; Bazin 1955 (as note 63), p. 11.
- 66 Christian Zervos, „Un vaste projet de réorganisation du Musée du Louvre. Conversation avec M. Henri Verne“, in: *Cahiers d’Art* 4 (1929), pp. 402–407; Henri Verne, „Projet de réorganisation du Musée du Louvre“, in: *Mouseion. Bulletin de l’Office International des Musées* 2, No. 10/12 (1930), pp. 5–13; see also Bazin 1958 (as note 3), pp. 73–77; Bazin 1967 (as note 3), pp. 263–265.
- 67 Christiane Aulanier, *Histoire du Palais du Musée du Louvre. Vol. 2: Le Salon Carré*, Paris 1950, plate 66; see also the following statements by the protagonists and Holst 1951 (as note 58), p. 3.
- 68 Programmatic descriptions of this new conception are René Huyghe, „Louvre. Le Remaniement du Département des Peintures et la Grande Galerie/Louvre. Changes in the Department of Paintings and the Grande Galerie“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestrielle/Quarterly Review* 1, No. 1/2 (1948), pp. 11–18 and pp. 92–96; Michel Florisoone, „[Musée du Louvre.] Les nouvelles salles de peinture française du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle“, in: *Bulletin des musées de France* 14 (1949), pp. 238–243; Bazin 1955 (as note 63).
- 69 Christiane Aulanier, „Musée du Louvre. La Grande Galerie du Premier Empire à nos jours“, in: *Bulletin des musées de France* 12, No. 10 (1947), pp. 3–14; see also Huyghe 1948 (as note 68), p. 17.
- 70 Germain Bazin, „Principes d’encadrement des peintures anciennes“, in: *Mouseion. Bulletin de l’Office International des Musées* 20, No. 55/56 (1946), pp. 279–306; Bazin 1955 (as note 63), p. 15.
- 71 This practice followed unacknowledgedly (and unconsciously?) the German museum reform before 1914, for example with Wilhelm von Bode in the *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum*; cf. Joachimides 2001 (as note 1), esp. pp. 81–97. An explicit perceptual-aesthetic justification of different wall colours in a contribution by Germain Bazin to the discussion about the lecture by Georg Schmidt in Salles/de Vries 1956 (as note 20), p. 95.
- 72 Hubert Delesalle, „Du Luxembourg au Louvre. La Galerie Médicis“, in: *La Revue des Arts* 3 (1953), pp. 203–208 (with fig.); also Bazin 1955 (as note 63), p. 14 (with fig.).
- 73 Bazin 1955 (as note 63), p. 14. The concluding words relate to the biography of Rubens by the Italian art writer Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome 1672, pp. 221–248.
- 74 Bazin 1955 (as note 63), p. 14 (with fig.).
- 75 For London see, amongst others, Lili Frohlich-Bume, „Zur Neuauftellung der National-Galerie in London“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 26, H. 19 (1956), S. 5–6; für Washington especially J. B. Eggen, „La Galerie Nationale d’Art de Washington“, in: *Mouseion. Bul-*

- letin de l'Office International des Musées* 20, No. 57/58 (1946), pp. 5–163. A particularly positive evaluation also in [Benedict Nicholson], „The Rearrangement of the Louvre Pictures“, in: *The Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), pp. 349–350.
- 76 A typical example is the new establishment of the Cincinnati Art Museum; cf. Philip Rhys Adams, „Towards a Strategy of Presentation“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestriale/Quarterly Review* 7, No. 1 (1954), pp. 1–14.
- 77 [Carlo L. Ragghianti], „Museo vivente“, in: *Sele arte. Rivista bimestrale di cultura* 7, No. 39 (1958/59), pp. 21–31; a review of Samuel Cauman, *The Living Museum. Experiences of an Art Historian and Museum Director. Alexander Dornier. With an Introduction by Walter Gropius*, New York 1958.
- 78 For the *Tesoro del Duomo* in Genoa see Giulio Carlo Argan, „Museo del Tesoro di San Lorenzo, Genova“, in: *L'architettura. Cronache e storia* 1 (1955/56), pp. 556–565; Franco Albini, „Le musée du Trésor de la cathédrale Saint-Laurent de Gênes/The Museum of the Treasure, San Lorenzo Cathedral, Genoa“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestriale/Quarterly Review* 9, No. 2 (1956), pp. 114–123; Mario Labo, „Il museo del Tesoro [di S. Lorenzo in Genova]“, in: *Casabella continuità. Rivista internazionale di architettura e urbanistica* [4], No. 213 (1956), pp. 4–15; Aloï 1962 (as note 9), pp. 293–306; Brawne 1965 (as note 9), pp. 48–50.
- 79 Albini 1956 (as note 78), pp. 116.
- 80 Giuseppe Samonà, „Il riordino dei Musei del Castello Sforzesco di Milano. Un contributo alla museografia“, in: *Casabella continuità. Rivista internazionale di architettura e urbanistica* [4], No. 211 (1956), pp. 50–62 and pp. 69–77; Ludovico B. Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti und Ernesto N. Rogers, „Carattere stilistico del Museo del Castello“, in: *Casabella continuità. Rivista internazionale di architettura e urbanistica* [4], No. 211 (1956), pp. 63–68; N.N., „Mailand. Museumsstil des Castello-Sforzesco von den Architekten Belgiojoso, Peressutti, Rogers“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 26, No. 10 (1956), pp. 21–22; Aloï 1962 (as note 9), pp. 235–252; Franco Russoli, „Castello Sforzesco“, in: *L'oeil. Revue d'art mensuelle* 109 (1964), pp. 40–47; Brawne 1965 (as note 9), pp. 41–47.
- 81 About the target group see Albini 1956 (as note 78), p. 118; Belgiojoso/Peressutti/Rogers 1956 (as note 80), p. 65.
- 82 André Malraux, „Le problème fondamental du musée“, in: *La Revue des Arts* 4 (1954), pp. 3–12, here p. 9 („exaltation“); similarly evocative phrasings previously in André Malraux, *Psychologie de l'art. I. Le musée imaginaire*, Genf 1947, passim; see also Claudia Bahmer, *Weltkunst. Formpsychologie und Kulturanthropologie in André Malraux' Kunstschriften*, Berlin 2008.
- 83 René Huyghe, „Vers une psychologie de l'art“, in: *La Revue des Arts* 1 (1951), pp. 131–142 and pp. 229–242.
- 84 Huyghe 1948 (as note 68); see also his contributions to the discussion in René Huyghe et al., „Exposition des peintures“, in: *Conférence générale de l'ICOM* 1 (1948), pp. 80–84.
- 85 Aloï 1962 (as note 9), passim; Brawne 1965 (as note 9), passim; Joachimides 2018 (as note 10).
- 86 N.N., „Le Havre. Ein modernes französisches Museum. Gespräch mit Reynold Arnould, Konservator des Museums von Le Havre“, in: *Die Weltkunst* 26, No. 10 (1956), pp. 29–30, here p. 30.

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- Fig. 1: Michael Brawne, *Neue Museen. Planung und Einrichtung*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 173.
- Fig. 2: Hans Curjel, „Über einige Museums- und Ausstellungsprobleme“, in: *Das Werk* 40, No. 4 (1953), pp. 128–132, here p. 128.
- Fig. 3: Harald Kimpel, *documenta. Die Überschau. Fünf Jahrzehnte Weltkunstausstellung in Stichwörtern*, Köln 2002, p. 24.
- Fig. 4: Heinz Keller, „Die Problematik der grossen Kunstausstellungen“, in: *Das Werk* 44, No. 10 (1957), pp. 351–353, here p. 353.
- Fig. 5: Giulio Carlo Argan, „La Galleria di Palazzo Bianco a Genova“, in: *Metron. Rivista bimestrale di architettura* 7, No. 45 (1952), pp. 25–39, here p. 33.
- Fig. 6: Roberto Aloï, *Musei. Architettura - Tecnica. Con un saggio di Carlo Bassi*, Mailand 1962, p. 180.
- Fig. 7: Germain Bazin, „New Arrangements at the Department of Paintings, Musée du Louvre, Paris/Nouveaux aménagements du département des peintures au Musée du Louvre, Paris“, in: *Museum. Revue trimestriale/Quarterly Review* 8, No. 1 (1955), pp. 11–23, here p. 17.
- Fig. 8: Roberto Aloï, *Musei. Architettura - Tecnica. Con un saggio di Carlo Bassi*, Mailand 1962, p. 303.
- Fig. 9: Giuseppe Samonà, „Il riordino dei Musei del Castello Sforzesco di Milano. Un contributo alla museografia“, in: *Casabella continuità. Rivista internazionale di architettura e urbanistica* [4], No. 211 (1956), pp. 50–62 and pp. 69–77, here p. 56.
- Fig. 10: N.N., „Musée Maison de la Culture, Le Havre“, in: *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* 32, No. 97 (1961), pp. 80–87, here p. 8.

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